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IV. — *Cicero's Hexameters.*

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CICERO'S versatile and somewhat restless mind frequently found occupation, amusement, and comfort in verse-composition. He thus made translations from several Greek poets, and composed original works on a wide range of themes and in several meters, and this exercise he kept up from boyhood till very near the end of his life. Of this great body of verse nearly all has been swept into oblivion, and as nearly all that survives was written when Cicero was a mere stripling, or when he was smarting under a sense of the injustice of his banishment, it is not easy to form a sure judgment as to his poetical qualities. This difficulty is increased by the fact that the statements of the ancients, who had access to all that Cicero wrote, are conflicting, and at times manifestly prejudiced in regard to the value of his verse.

Of his poetry in hexameters there remain 740 complete lines, viz. 568 lines of his translation of the astronomical and meteorological poetry of Aratus (*Aratea*), written very early in his life (*N. D.* 2. 104); 53 lines of his versions of Homer, made at unknown periods; 8 lines from other Greek originals; 85 lines from a long poem on his consulship and his times; 15 lines from a panegyric on Marius, probably composed in his mature years; 4 lines on Terence, apparently from a medley (*Limon* [Λειμών] = *Pratum*) of literary criticisms in verse, of uncertain date; 7 lines from elegiac distichs and from works of unknown titles and times.

The greater part of the *Aratea* has descended to us in its own manuscript; the other fragments are scattered through Cicero's prose works, and rescued from Hyginus, Quintilian, Suetonius, Aulus Gellius, Pseudo-Sallustius, Lactantius, Augustine, Servius, Probus, Phocas, Nonius, Diomedes,

Charisius, Priscian, and Isidore. It is interesting that, as we are largely indebted to Cicero for much of our meagre knowledge of early Latin poetry, so much of his own verse has been saved by so many writers covering a period of more than six centuries.

No attempt to galvanize these remains into popular reading could succeed. They deal largely with subjects that interest but few readers; they are mostly the school-exercises of a precocious boy, and the utterances of a broken-spirited patriot; they are in a sadly fragmentary condition, and often lack intelligible context; they reveal, more than modern taste approves, their author's overweening self-estimate and passion for fame. But for all this, they have a genuine interest and value for those who will study them as the bywork of a man who has, along several lines, permanently affected the world's literature and thought.

But perhaps the chief value of these lines is the light which they throw upon the progress of the bold attempt to Latinize the Greek dactylic hexameter. Compared with Greek, Latin is characterized by long vowels and heavy syllables, and therefore by a somewhat cumbersome movement, and it is remarkable that Ennius succeeded so well in casting his rather intractable language and subject-matter into the forms of this nimble and exotic verse. The hexameters of Lucilius show no improvement in lightness or rhythm over those of Ennius. The experiments of Cicero mark, on the whole, a decided advance over the work of these pioneers, and aided Lucretius and Vergil in giving still greater dignity, and beauty, and naturalness to a meter which was always in Rome something of an alien.

In this paper attention will be mainly called to some structural characteristics of Cicero's hexameters.

In the 740 lines under consideration but one has a spondee in the fifth foot, and as this line ends with *Ōrīōnis*, it is quite possible that Cicero wrote *Ōārīōnis*, following a somewhat frequent Greek measurement. But Quintilian (9. 4. 65) speaks of the form as a quadrisyllable. The spondaic line found in a letter to Atticus (7. 2. 1)—*flavit ab Epiro lenissi-*

mus Onchesmites—probably slipped unintentionally from the writer's pen. It is well known that Horace also has but a single spondaic hexameter (*A. P.* 467); Tibullus and the pseudo-Sulpicia have none at all.

Disregarding the fifth and sixth feet, we find that dactyls (d) and spondees (s) are combined in the first four feet of the 740 lines as follows:—

(1) dsss in 132 lines	(9) dssd in 25 lines
(2) ddss " 108 "	(10) ddsd " 23 "
(3) sdss " 94 "	(11) sdsd " 23 "
(4) ssss " 90 "	(12) sssd " 22 "
(5) sdds " 50 "	(13) ssdd " 11 "
(6) dsds " 48 "	(14) sddd " 10 "
(7) ddds " 45 "	(15) dsdd " 10 "
(8) ssds " 43 "	(16) dddd " 6 "

From this table it appears that nearly 54 per cent of Cicero's verses have a dactyl in the first foot, nearly 52 per cent a spondee in the second foot, nearly 70 per cent a spondee in the third foot, and over 82 per cent a spondee in the fourth foot.

Cicero's favorite line (dsss) is also the favorite line in Latin poets generally, except Ennius, in whom Cicero's fourth (ssss) occurs more than any other. On the other hand, in Homer and Aratus the fourth (ssss) is the rarest line, and next in infrequency is the first (dsss), while the rarest combination in Cicero and in Latin poetry generally (dddd) is the favorite in these two Greek poets.

In the complete lines there are 1848 dactyls and 2592 spondees; *i.e.* the latter make more than 58 per cent of all the feet. Other Latin poets, with the exception of Ovid, also have a majority of spondees, so that "dactylic" is a misnomer as applied to their hexameters. It is well known that in Greek poetry the dactyls greatly predominate.

As to the main caesura, different readers would naturally draw somewhat different conclusions, but in about 714 lines there would probably be substantial agreement. Of these easily scanned lines 479 have the caesural pause most readily

in the third foot, the foot itself being a spondee. 165 lines have the masculine and 27 the feminine caesura in the third foot; *i.e.* the ratio of the former to the latter is a little more than that of 6 to 1. As the masculine caesura is the favorite in Latin poetry generally, while in Greek poetry the feminine is preferred, we have here another fundamental difference in the hexameters of the two literatures.

In 38 lines there is a caesura in the fourth and another in the second foot. In but 5 or 6 lines is there so decided a break in the sense or build after the fourth foot that the main caesura falls there. The infrequency of this "bucolic" diaeresis in all Latin verse, except the Satires of Juvenal, is noteworthy. Even the *Bucolics* of Vergil and Calpurnius Siculus are quite indifferent to it.

In at least 20 lines, if a decided caesura is insisted upon, a word is somewhat violently detached from another word with which it belongs in sense and grammar. Thus *et*, *atque*, *ad*, and *ab* several times apparently close the first part of the line, though they logically belong in the second part. Examples of such lines are:—

obstipum caput a tereti cervice reflexum (*Arat.*),  
 lumborum tenuis a palma depulsus ad umbras (*ib.*),  
 vinctos inter se et nodis caelestibus aptos (*ib.*),  
 hic equus a capite et longa cervice latescit (*ib.*),  
 abicit efflantem et laceratum adfligit in unda (*Mar.*),  
 ni post excelsum ad columnam formata decore (*de Cons.*).

This free treatment of the caesura is not peculiar to Cicero, though perhaps it occurs more often in him than in later poetry. It seems sometimes the result of carelessness, and sometimes to aim at rhetorical effect; but more often it probably only illustrates the fact that the ancients did not break up their verses in the mechanical, staccato manner to which we are prone. It should be borne in mind that Latin poetry was written more for effective reading and declamation than with reference to chant and musical accompaniment.

In 14 lines the first two feet are peculiarly marked off, either because they are made of a single word, or because

each is made up of a complete word or words. These beginnings, in which words and feet are identical, consist of almost all possible combinations, as *ínclinátior, áltera dícitur, át non tértia, séptem dícier, áltera párs hinc, séd tamen ánni, nám iam túm nimis, róstro túndit et, víntos ínter, vóciбус ínstát et, nára quae pér bis, nám quasi vós sibi*. Lines of this kind are numerous in Ennius and Lucretius, but they mostly appear to labor and were clearly avoided by Vergil and the more musical poets.

After Cicero's favorite caesura the verse-ictus and word-accent so generally coincide that the second half of the line may be said to scan itself. There are, however, but 34 lines in which the fourth, fifth, and sixth feet are each a separate word, as, *férvida lúmina flágrant*. Of these 34 only 4 have a dactyl in the fourth foot. In addition, 56 lines have the same movement and effect, the first part of the first word being a preposition and placed in the third foot, as, *permúlcet spíritus Aústri*. That Cicero did not greatly affect this form is seen from the fact that it might have been secured in at least 20 lines by a simple change in order, as, *totó cum córpore cédit, caecís nox cóncífit úmbris, caelí sub tégmíne sígnum*.

In no line are the feet and the words identical throughout. The nearest approach is, *séd tamen ánni iám labúntur témpore tóto (Arat.)*. But this is infinitely inferior, in beauty and onomatopoeia, to Ennius' *lábítur úncta carína per áequora cána celócís*.

16 lines end with a monosyllable, in 6 of which the final word is *est*, preceded by a vowel. The other 10 lines close as follows: *úsus in hác est, vísit equí vis, sígnipoténs nox, cúrriculó nox (2), cúrriculúm sol, quám iacit éx se, córpore práe se, pervértet opúm vim, dextérque simúl pes*. On Vergil's *conspicitur sus (Aen. 8. 83)* Servius says, *sciendum esse hoc esse vitiosum, monosyllabo finiri verum, nisi forte ipso monosyllabo minora explicentur animalia. Gratiores enim versus isti sunt secundum Lucilium*. Perhaps this remark is the source of the common, but certainly erroneous impression that a comical effect is desired or produced by such endings. The sensitive Vergil puts at the end of the verse not only the

“minora animalia” sus and mus, but also *e.g.* bos, rex, gens, vir, ver, dis, nox, sol, mons, — all words of dignity and used in serious situations. Much more sensible is Quintilian's (8. 3. 20) remark on Vergil's *exiguus mus* (*G.* 1. 181), *clausula ipsa unius syllabae non usitata addidit gratiam*.

In but 4 lines are the fifth and sixth feet included in a word of five syllables, viz., *Anguitenentis*, *Cassiepia* (2), and *posteriores*, — all in the *Aratea*. This stately pentasyllabic ending is very frequent in Homer and Aratus, and is often employed very effectively by Ennius and Lucretius; but it was evidently avoided by the later and more fastidious poets — notably by Vergil and Ovid — and is even stigmatized by Quintilian (9. 4. 65) as “*praemolle*.”

Once only does Cicero indulge in hiatus: *hoc motu radiantis etesiaë in vada ponti*. This is in the *Aratea* and is quoted by Cicero (*Or.* 152) many years after with the suggestive comment, *hoc idem nostri saepius non tulissent, quod Graeci laudare etiam solent*. In the line from the *de Consu- latu*, *inque Academia umbrifera nitidoque Lyceo*, Lachmann (on *Lucr.* 3. 374) is inclined to think that Cicero shortened both the penult and the ultima of *Academia*, with resulting hiatus: but it is certainly much more probable that Cicero retained the long penult of this Greek word (*Ἀκαδήμεια*). Tullius Laurea, a freedman of Cicero, certainly treated the penult as long in his verse, *atque Academīae celebratam nomine villam* (Pliny, *N. H.* 31. 8), nor is there a clear case where it is short before Claudianus of the fifth century.

Cicero nowhere lengthens a short vowel, whether as a revival of the original quantity or through the influence of the ictus, nor does he, with two apparent exceptions, treat as long a syllable in which a short vowel is followed by a mute with *l* or *r*. Hence we find consistently *pātrēm*, *volūcris*, *rētro*, *penētro*, *dūplex*, *tenēbrae*, *Étrusci*, etc. He does lengthen the penult of *mēdiōcre*, but of course only thus could he use the word. He makes the first syllable of *acredula* (*Arat.*) long. The word is of uncertain origin, and apparently occurs nowhere else in verse except in the *Carmen de philomela* (*vere*

calente novos componit ācredula cantus), a poem of unknown, but certainly of very late authorship and date.

This quite exceptional treatment of "common" syllables as short was, doubtless, largely due to the fact that their elective measurement was as yet very rare in Latin poetry; we may also detect Cicero's desire to secure as many dactyls as possible for his hexameters. The same motive was probably at work in most of his coinages, as clārīsōnus, aestīfer, stellīger, tristīficus, signīpōtens; in his use of syncopated forms, as nosse, violasse, putasti; in his preferring gēnētrix to māter, vētūs and vētustus to antīquus and priscus, rūtilus to rūfus, exīguus and tēnuis to parvus, vōcīto and perhībeo to vōco or dīco, prēhendit to prendit (see Quintilian, 9. 4. 59); in his use, once each, of the archaisms pōtis est, pōtesse, and possiet, and in the obsolescent infinitives convertier, dicier, fabricarier, labier, metirier, versarier. This ending *-ier* is, apparently, not found in Cicero's prose except as a quotation. It is also significant that he has only the shorter forms of the genitive plural deum, divum, and superum, — though he uses Graiorum (*de Cons.*) as well as Graium (*Arat.*), and that, though he has the heavier orthodox perfect *-ērunt* four times, he uses *-ērē* eight times. Six of these examples are in the *de Consulatu*. There are not so many well authenticated instances of the lighter *-ērē* in all his prose writings. His own words (*Or.* 157) on the point are interesting: nec vero reprehenderim 'scripsere alii rem' (from Ennius): 'scripserunt' esse verius sentio, sed consuetudini auribus indulgenti libenter obsequor. He nowhere has the shortened form *-ērunt*. He also uses sūpērā instead of sūprā in accordance with Priscian's (14. 6. 52) statement, sic 'supera' antiqui frequenter protulerunt et maxime Cicero in poëmatibus.

Final *o* in Cicero is long, except in duō and egō; hence leō, modō (adv.), nemō, nequeō, verō (adv.), etc.

Cicero takes but few liberties with the forms and usages of his time for the sake of his verse. Eight times in the *Aratea* he metrically ignores final *s* after a short vowel and before an initial consonant, as in torvūs Draco, Aquilonīs locatae. In his *Orator*, 161, written in 46 B.C., he speaks of this treat-



ment of *s* as iam subrusticum, olim autem politius: ita non erat ea offensio in versibus quam nunc fugiunt poetae novi. See also Quintilian, 9. 4. 38. The archaic genitives aquarū, aquilarū, Neparū, and terrarū are in the *Aratea*. The syncopated forms gubernaculum, oracla, and vincla appear once each. Quis and quibus are used indifferently as the dative and ablative plural. The genitive eius appears once, and probably as a pyrrhic, though it may be a single long syllable, while cuius in its single use is a trochee. It is to be regretted that the genitive *-ius* of other pronouns — illius, unius, etc. — is not found; the only reference of Cicero to the matter (*de Or.* 3. 183), and the prevailing scansion of the forms in Lucretius and Catullus, clearly indicate that the penult of these genitives was short. In Quintilian's time (1. 5. 18) usage had apparently changed. Cave occurs but once, and then with a short ultima. Vēmens (vēhēmens) is used thrice; once it must be a dissyllable, as it may be, and probably is, in the other two instances. There certainly is no sure case of the word as a trisyllable before the middle of the second century A.D.; viz., in the hendecasyllabic line of Verus to Fronto, non istic vēhēmēter aestuamus. The statement of Aulus Gellius (2. 3. 3) in regard to the function of *h* in such words, is at least entertaining. Eodem is once a dissyllable, and semianimum once a quadrisyllable. Genus (knee) is several times used in the nominative and accusative instead of genu. Por-gens and subgrit each are found once for porrigens and surgit. Of course it is yet too early for the genitive singular of nouns in *-ius* and *-ium* to appear as *-ii* instead of *-i*.

The syntax of the hexameters is, with very slight exceptions, the syntax of Cicero's other works. There is a single "Greek" accusative," viz. satiata animos in the *Marius*. The infinitive with certo and moneo is unusual in Ciceronian prose. Cave appears but once, and then with the simple subjunctive — cave studeas. Est pandens is used like pandit, but this use of the present participle with esse is found sporadically in all Latin. The preposition cum is often found with a noun and an adjective, where, in his prose, Cicero uses the simple modal or characterizing ablative, as, navem magno cum cor-

pore, *rutilo cum lumine claret*. This peculiarity abounds in the *Aratea*, and herein Cicero follows Ennius, as he was himself followed by Lucretius. The position of *cum* after the adjective and before the noun, is almost stereotyped. There are several instances of anastrophe of the prepositions *contra*, *ex*, *inter*, *propter*, *subter*, *tenus*. Once the preposition is between its noun and a dependent genitive—*parte ex Aquilonis* (*Arat.*). This is a somewhat favorite arrangement in Lucretius and Tacitus. In *procul Arcturo* (*Arat.*) *procul* may be used as a preposition. *Tenus* has the ablative twice, and, for the first time in the extant literature, once the genitive. It is an interesting coincidence that Cicero (*lumborum tenus* [*Arat.*]), Lucretius (*labrorum tenus* [1. 940]), and Catullus (*nutricum tenus* [64. 18]), each use *tenus* but once with the genitive, the noun being in the plural, denoting bodily organs, and placed at the beginning of the line. The spelling of the preposition *supera* has already been mentioned. The substantive use of the neuter plural of adjectives with the partitive genitive of nouns, as *infera lumborum*, *inferna leonis*, and *nubiſa caeli*—all from the *Aratea*—is an interesting preparation for an idiom that is well known in later poetry, and very common in “silver” Latin.

About twenty-five words in these hexameters are, apparently, Cicero’s own coinage. *Lătesco*, *anxifer*, *auctifer*, *mollipes*, *sagittipotens*, *signipotens*, and *umifer* are found only here. *Mollipes* (*Arat.*), applied to cattle, is beautifully expressive and deserved a longer life. *Lăvipes* (*Arat.*), of the movements of the hare, is also finely descriptive, though perhaps Cicero took the epithet from his teacher Aelius Stilo (Varro, *L. L.* 3. 12. 6). If a doctor’s prescription that a patient take ‘*terrigenam, herbigradam, domiportam, sanguine cassam*,’ when he should have said ‘*cochleam*’ (*de Div.* 2. 115), is really from Cicero, he has given us two *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* in the excellent parody on the entangled and periphrastic lingo of certain philosophers. *Auriger*, *clarisonus*, *mortifer*, *nivalis*, *squamiger*, *tristificus*, and *umbrifer* are among the words first found in these lines, and adopted by later writers. The forms *fabitur*, in a Homeric translation (Gellius, 15. 6),

and *suërunt*, in the *Aratea*, seem to occur nowhere else. *Claro*, in the literal sense 'to make distinct,' 'to illumine,' is used three times (*Arat.* and *de Cons.*). Lucretius uses the word twice, and Horace once, but metaphorically. We have a tantalizing glimpse of the lost verb *clino* (*Arat.*). *Stinguo* appears twice in the *Aratea*; it reappears a few times in Lucretius, and then disappears forever. To the student of language there is something very interesting and somewhat pathetic in the brief appearance and then the permanent eclipse of such words as belonged to a large family and have several direct descendants. *Cervix*, in Cicero's prose, is always in the plural; in the *Aratea* and the *Marius* it appears several times in the singular. The singular is also in the fragments of Ennius, Pacuvius, and Afranius, so that the statement of Quintilian (8. 3. 35)—*cervicem videtur Hortensius primus dixisse; nam veteres pluraliter appellabant*—is incorrect. Varro (*L. L.* 10. 78), Servius (on *Aen.* 11. 496), and Isidore (*Orig.* 11. 1. 61) make the same mistake.

As in early Latin generally, so in Cicero's verse, conscious alliteration is quite frequent. Examples are, *tumulos ac templa petivit* (*de Cons.*), *patribus populoque patebat* (*ib.*), *patriae flamma ferroque parata* (*ib.*), *tertia te Phthiae tempestas laeta locabit* (*de Div.* 1. 52), and, from the *Aratea*, *minitanti murmure, caeca caligine, labentes lumine lucent, pede pellere palmam, claro cum corpore, lustravit luce lacunas, scopulorum saepes*. *Sanctus senatus* (*de Cons.*) and *lumina liquit* (*passim*) are already in Ennius. *Caeca caligo* pleased also Lucretius (3. 304), Catullus (64. 207), Vergil (*Aen.* 3. 203), and Silius Italicus (5. 34). The alliterative combinations, as in poetry generally, are prevailing in the second half of the verse.

It is an interesting question how far Cicero deliberately made the first and second halves of his lines rhyme, particularly by putting adjectives and their nouns before the main caesura and at the end. Instances of such Leonine verses are rather numerous, *e.g.*, in the *de Consulatu*:—

*vertitur et totum conlustrat lumine mundum,  
iam vero variae nocturno tempore visae,  
omnia fixa tuus glomerans determinat annus,*

Martia quae parvos Mavortis semine natos,  
Iuppiter excelsa clarabat sceptrā columna,  
otia qui studiis laeti tenuere decoris,  
o fortunatam natam me consule Romam.

Now and then successive lines rhyme at the close. Thus in the *de Consulatu* three successive lines end with *monebant*, *ferebant*, *iubebant*; the next two with *vereri*, *teneri*, and, a little below, two with *morata*, *locata*. The instances seem too frequent to be merely accidental, and we may perhaps look upon Cicero as one who was preparing Latin poetry for the time when rhyme was to be one of its characteristics. However, as Cicero never quite mastered the art of interfusing and consolidating verses with verses, but is over-inclined to pay them out in measured instalments, — line upon line and a thought in each line, — the result is a somewhat monotonous number of verbs at the end and, inevitably, an occasional rhyme. Thus in the longest fragment of the *de Consulatu*, 22 of the 78 lines end with a finite verb and 12 with a participle in the nominative or accusative case.

Once Cicero very effectively makes the end of a line the beginning of the following one. He is telling, from Aratus, how we may become weather-wise if we will but closely observe the utterances and demeanor of certain animals, and one of the prognostications of foul weather is this: —

saepe etiam pertriste canit de pectore carmen  
et matutinis acredula vocibus instat,  
vocibus instat et adsiduas iacit ore querelas,  
cum primum gelidos rores aurora remittit.

The doleful and reiterated notes of the prophetic bird are admirably suggested and emphasized by the structure and movement of the passage. Lucretius four times uses this form of repetition, and one instance (5.298) is apparently a Ciceronian reminiscence. But epanalepsis is as old as Homer — *Il.* 22. 127, *παρθένος ἡϊθέος τε | παρθένος ἡϊθέος τε* — and is not unknown in English poetry, as, in Milton's *Lycidas*: —

“But oh, the heavy change, now thou art gone,  
Now thou art gone, and never must return!”

Not much of Cicero's poetry is still felt as a living force, except by indirection, but we are probably indebted to him for the very beautiful metaphor of light as a garment, which seems not to occur in earlier Latin nor in Greek. Four times in the *Aratea* he thus uses *vestio* and *convestio* with *lumen*. The figure reappears in Lucretius, 2. 148 —

quam subito soleat sol ortus tempore tali  
convestire sua perfundens omnia luce —

though there it is mixed with a different metaphor. It is adopted by Vergil, *Aen.* 6. 640 —

largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit  
purpureo —

and thus becomes the common property of poets, as of Milton in his apostrophe to Light (*P. L.* 3. 10), "as with a mantle didst invest the rising world of waters," and of Wordsworth in the *Laodamia*, "And fields invested with purpureal gleams." The use of the metaphor in the *Psalms* (104. 2) is well known.

But it is not within the scope of this paper to discuss in detail the diction, style, and poetical qualities of these verses, nor to enlarge upon Cicero's direct and indirect influence upon the world's poetry. That Lucretius studied the *Aratea* as one of his models is the valuable testimony of a great poet to its worth. Munro in his commentary (5.619) has given many instances of the indebtedness of Lucretius to Cicero, but his list is by no means complete. To Cicero's affectionate fondness for the early Latin poets we owe very much of the little that we have of their works. His assertion, in his speech for Archias, of the high and ennobling function of poetry in human society has very properly been declared to be "one of the permanent glories of Latin literature."

As an appendix are subjoined the passages in the ancient writers which refer to Cicero's poetry with something akin to criticism. Three times (*in Pisonem*, 72, 74, written in 55 B.C., *de Off.* 1. 77, written in 44 B.C., and *Phil.* 2. 20, also from

44 B.C.) Cicero comes to the defense against his personal enemies of the evidently very famous line from a long poem on his times:—

cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi.

He particularly deprecates the construction which had been put upon it, viz., its vanity and its asserted disparagement of Pompey's military glory. Though the best MSS. of Cicero read *laudi* in this line, it is interesting to find *linguae* in Quintilian and γλώττη in Plutarch's (*Dem. cum Cic.* 2) paraphrase. The elder Pliny, *N. H.* 7. 117—salve, primus in toga triumphum linguaeque laudem merite—seems also to have read *linguae*, as did the author of the pseudo-invective of Sallust against Cicero, in which academic piece and in its rejoinder the line is attacked and defended. Cassius, writing to Cicero (*ad Fam.* 12. 13. 1) in 42 B.C., est tua toga omnium armis felicio, evidently has the line in mind.

At the beginning of the *de Legibus*, probably written in 52 B.C., Cicero, his brother Quintus, and Atticus are conversing at Arpinum. Atticus speaks of a grove and particularly of an oak tree which he recognizes from their description in Cicero's *Marius*, which he says he had often read. Quintus soon declares, dum Latinae loquentur litterae, quercus huic loco non deerit, quae *Mariana* dicatur, eaque, ut ait Scaevola de fratris mei *Mario* 'canescet saeculis innumerabilibus.' It cannot with certainty be made out what Scaevola gave this eulogy and prophecy.

In B.C. 54 Cicero, writing to his brother (*Q. fr.* 2. 13. 2), says: Tu scribis poema ab eo nostrum probari. The 'poema' is probably the one on Cicero's times; the 'eo' is Julius Caesar.

In the same year Marcus writes to Quintus (*Q. fr.* 2. 15. 5): Tibi versus quos rogas, hoc est 'Athenas noctuam,' mittam. Quomodonam de nostris versibus Caesar? Nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante, et prima sic ut neget se ne Graeca quidem meliora legisse; reliqua ad quendam locum ῥαθυμότερα—hoc enim utimur verbo. Dic mihi verum; num aut res eum aut χαρακτήρ non delectat? The passage is also interesting as a glimpse of the way Caesar and Quintus some-

times beguiled the tedium of camp life, and of the use of Greek.

The elder Seneca (*Contr.* 3. praef. 8), in support of the thesis that no one can become very great in more than one field, says: Ciceronem eloquentia sua in carminibus destituit.

The younger Seneca (*de Ira*, 3. 37) says: Te Ennius, quo non delectaris, odisset, et Cicero, si derideres carmina eius, inimicus esset.

Quintilian (9. 4. 41) gives the student this caution: videntum ne syllabae verbi prioris ultimae et primae sequentis sint eadem. Quod ne quis praecipi miretur, Ciceroni in carmine excidit 'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam.' The same author (11. 1. 24), reminding us that Cicero, when attacked by his enemies, justified his deeds, adds: in carminibus utinam pepercisset, quae non desierunt carpere maligni, and gives as the two lines which were the especial objects of attack the one just quoted, 'o fortunatam,' etc., and 'cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae.' Though Quintilian quotes from Cicero hundreds of times, he gives of his poetry only these two ill-starred verses and (8. 6. 73) this elegiac couplet from 'quidam iocularis libellus':

fundum Vetto vocat quem possit mittere funda,  
ni tamen exciderit qua cava funda patet.

Tacitus remarks, *Dialogus*, 21: fecerunt (*i.e.* Caesar and Brutus) et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt.

The younger Pliny (*Ep.* 3. 15. 1; 5. 3. 5; 7. 4. 3; 7. 9. 12) refers to his great model's encouragement of poets and to his verses, but without expressing any judgment as to their quality.

Martial (2. 89. 3) sends this skit to Gaurus:

carmina quod scribis Musis et Apolline nullo,  
laudari debes: hoc Ciceronis habes.

Juvenal's estimate (10. 122) of one of Cicero's lines is well known:

'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam':  
Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic  
omnia dixisset.

Of quite exceptional interest and value are Plutarch's references to Cicero's poetry: — *Cic.* 2: 'Cicero had that turn of genius and disposition which Plato would have a scholar and philosopher possess. There was no branch of knowledge that he despised, yet he was most inclined to poetry. When he had studied this art with greater application he was looked upon as the best poet, as well as the greatest orator, in Rome. His reputation for oratory still remains, notwithstanding considerable changes in the language; but as many ingenious poets have since appeared, his poetry has lost its credit and is now neglected.' *Cic.* 40: 'The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from public business. . . . His ready turn for poetry afforded him amusement, for we are told that when he was intent upon it he could make 500 verses in a single night.' *Dem. cum Cic.*: 'Cicero in his orations speaks in such high terms of himself that it is plain he had a most intemperate vanity: thus he cried out ὡς τὰ ὄπλα ἔδει τῇ τηβένῳ καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ τὴν θριαμβικὴν ὑπείκειν δάφνην.' It is remarkable that Plutarch in referring to the famous line 'cedant arma togae,' etc., does not give the original: but I am not aware that any classical Greek writer ever allowed himself to quote Latin.